

**THE HISTORICAL IMPACT OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS ON
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ITS EFFECTS ON
CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES**

An Undergraduate Research Scholars Thesis

by

JOHN T. DAVIS

Submitted to the Undergraduate Research Scholars program
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the designation as an

UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOLAR

Approved by
Research Advisor:

Dr. Dinah Hannaford

May 2016

Major: International Studies

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	4
II HISTORICAL REVIEW.....	7
Call of the missionary	7
Growth of missions	11
Historical review conclusions.....	20
III CASE STUDIES.....	22
Introduction and disclaimer	23
Case study 1: New Zealand	25
Case study 2: South Africa	31
Case study conclusions	38
IV CURRENT TRENDS.....	42
Interview introductions	43
The purpose of modern-day mission work.....	47
The methods of modern-day mission work.....	50
Connections to the past	55
Conclusions based on current trends.....	57
V CONCLUSION.....	59
REFERENCES	62

ABSTRACT

The Historical Impact of Christian Missions on International Development and its Effects on Contemporary Practices

John T. Davis
Department of International Studies
Texas A&M University

Research Advisor: Dr. Dinah Hannaford
Department of International Studies

My research thesis focuses on the connections between Christian mission work and international development across time. The fundamental problem this study addresses is not as much a problem as it is a question: does helping hurt? Historically, religion has had an outstanding ability to motivate a group of people to cause social change, a fickle and bipolar activity, but undoubtedly something desperately needed by many impoverished nations around the globe. Moreover, the Christian faith places tremendous value on giving to the needy and helping the poor, activities which are demonstrated and taught by Jesus in the New Testament. However, the world is not the same as it was when these noble teachings of Jesus were spoken. As time has progressed, modernization and globalization have changed the dynamics of international development and missions alike, and the values of generosity and compassion previously credited to faith became visible to and sought after by the world at large. This global shift begs the questions, does faith still have a place in international development? Does the faith element of faith-based humanitarian aid motivate positive change, or does it delay it? Could the work done by faith-based organizations be done as quickly or effectively if the faith element was taken away? These are some of the questions addressed in this thesis. There is no developmental formula that will solve every problem of every country, so I cannot propose to thoroughly

justify or condemn any one organization, country, or religion; however, I hope by understanding this issue, the institutions that make decisions regarding international development, religious or not, will have a clear understanding of how their motivations and objectives affect the progress and quality of international development.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank the representatives of HOPE International, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and CARE International who agreed to be interviewed for this thesis paper.

I would like to thank Dr. Dinah Hannaford for her guidance, expertise, and encouragement in forming this thesis paper.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Great Commission, one of the most quoted verses in the bible regarding missions, commands, “Go therefore and make disciple of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit” (Matthew 28:19 English Standard Version) Since that holy charge, Christ’s followers have grown in number and scope forming and reforming churches, shaping governments, and taking the teachings of Christ to lands untouched by Western culture. Dispersing the gospel message of Christianity has been an important element in the Christian faith since its inception. Mobility, a quality possessed by Jesus himself, has marked Christianity as one of if not the most powerful social movements to spread across the globe. Across history, Christian sojourners have traveled to areas of the world yet untouched by politically-driven modernization, and there they would establish not just their religion, but also a set of social guidelines that would set the tone for how these “uncivilized” societies would mature and develop into the future.

Approximately two thousand years have passed since Jesus spoke the words of the Great Commission and yet the power and drive behind the message of Christian missions has hardly changed. But what *has* changed about missions in the modern era? Most individual missionaries have grouped themselves into missions organizations which typically operate on a business plan to carry out organizational objectives similar to any well-established modern international corporation. Additionally, the world is no longer the Roman-conquered conglomeration of

cultures familiar to Jesus and his followers. The scene in which the actors are currently set has progressed historically, politically, economically, and technologically from the beginning of the missions story. Missionaries in a modernizing world work simultaneously in the shadow of history and in the light of a new era. While not ignoring the lessons of the past nor compromising the core message of their faith, modern missionaries must adapt to the changing demands of international development in order to remain a relevant force of spiritual and material change. In drastically over-simplified terms, our understanding of how to best aid in international development has changed through history. What haven't changed are the words of Jesus in Matthew 28:19 nor the Christian focal points of compassion and generosity. Can missionaries, therefore, reconcile these traditional ideals with current developmental trends and methods? In the context history, do the changing times necessitate a different approach to the challenges of international development, and can Christian missions, a system thousands of years old, meet those challenges?

This thesis paper explores the relationship between missions and development from three perspectives, the first being historical. In this perspective I isolate the variable of time as I study the influence of missions in Europe across several centuries. By studying the literature about and by Christian missionaries through time, relationships between cause (missions) and effect (development) reveal themselves in consistent patterns. In addition to a broad historical review, my second perspective concentrates on specific societies at a single point in time. By using the advantage of this perspective, one can draw connections between the influence of missionaries and the resulting well-being of particular developing societies. Lastly, this thesis continues its evaluation by connecting the lessons of the past with the practices of the present by asking the

questions: do Christian missions still have a place in international development today? Does the motivation of faith contribute to or distract from the humanitarian needs of a developing society? To answer these questions, I study organizations in operation today that make religious or non-religious claims of international development and I compare their practices to each other and to the lessons of history. This holistic approach serves to evaluate the cultural and practical implications of religious involvement in international development. Though this thesis offers no conclusive moral justification in favor or against missions in development, it concentrates on the connections between the worlds of Christian missions and international development across time. Only by knowing these connections can we have confidence that what is intended as goodwill does not result in negative consequences.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL REVIEW

The call of the missionary

Jesus was a revolutionary. Whether one professes faith in Christianity or not, little can be said against his influence as a leader, teacher, or political instigator if one looks primarily at the practical impact that his life and death has made on the world. Not unlike leaders of other world religions, Jesus commands his followers to continue his work through preaching and evangelizing, but unlike other religions, his followers have grown into the largest religion of the world (31.5%) with a currently estimated 2.2 billion people (Pew Forum, 2012). The spreading of Christianity, or the mission movement, started when Jesus spoke the words known as the Great Commission which are recorded in the bible in Matthew 28:19-20 as “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you.” To fully understand the Great Commission in the context of the teachings of Jesus, it is important not to neglect what Jesus taught about evangelism. In other words when he mandates his disciples to, “Go and make disciples of all nations,” it is important to evaluate what moral standard these disciples are held to in order to understand how these disciples will impact the nations.

Among the many teachings and actions of Jesus as chronicled in the Christian bible, one story in particular illustrates well a recurring theme of Jesus’ ideology. The story, a parable told by Jesus, comes from Matthew 25:31-46 (ESV) and describes a scene in heaven where God separates the righteous from the wicked as “the sheep are separated from the goats”. The wicked

are accused thereafter of failing to clothe, feed, visit, and comfort those in need with the additional conviction, “as you did it not to one of the least of [the needy], you did it not unto me.” The righteous, in a similar fashion, are extolled for their commitment to clothe and feed the needy and are ushered into heavenly rest. A common theme presents itself as one studies other teachings of Jesus. Jesus tells his disciples in Luke 12:33, “Sell your possessions, and give alms; provide yourselves with purses that do not grow old, with a treasure in the heavens that does not fail, where no thief approaches and no moth destroys,” and again in Luke 14:12-13, “But when you give a feast, invite the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and you will be blessed, because they cannot repay you. You will be repaid at the resurrection of the just.” In Matthew 19:21 Jesus tells an inquisitive rich man seeking the secret to eternal life, “If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me.” The command of personal sacrifice is associated throughout with the promise of heavenly gain, insinuating that those who give to needy in this earthly life will be rewarded in the eternal afterlife. These teachings have given Christianity an altruistic focus, which has not been consistent in every endeavor of Christianity across history, but it is a focus nonetheless with clear biblical precedent.

Following the ascension of Jesus, the bible records the actions of multiple people embarking on international journeys to carry out the command of the Great Commission. The most famous and best chronicled of these missionaries is the apostle Paul, who stands out from his Jewish counterparts for his vocal willingness to preach Christ to outsiders. “I am speaking to you Gentiles. Inasmuch then as I am an apostle to the Gentiles,” Paul writes in Romans 11:13 to highlight his work among the non-Jewish pagan cultures of the era. Paul, among others in the

bible such as Philip, Barnabas, and John, sets an early model of trans-cultural evangelism which allowed the story and teachings of Christ to be spread through the Roman Empire (which controlled Israel at the time). Between the book of Acts and the letters Paul wrote to churches in Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, and other foreign cities, attentive readers of the bible are able to glimpse the motivations behind one of the first missionaries of the Christian faith. Paul recounts for his motivation while on trial before King Agrippa by recalling his own conversion experience (recorded in Acts 26:13-18):

“’At midday, O king, I saw on the way a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, that shone around me and those who journeyed with me. And when we had all fallen to the ground, I heard a voice saying to me in the Hebrew language, ‘Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me? It is hard for you to kick against the goads.’ And I said, ‘Who are you, Lord?’ And the Lord said, ‘I am Jesus whom you are persecuting. But rise and stand upon your feet, for I have appeared to you for this purpose, to appoint you as a servant and witness to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you, delivering you from your people and from the Gentiles—to whom I am sending you to open their eyes, so that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me.’”⁸

Notably, Paul does not mention the material needs of those to whom he is sent, but rather he emphasizes the indwelling needs of forgiveness and faith. From this passage, one could conclude that Paul became a missionary for the primary reason of helping people, not in the form of alleviating physical suffering, but in the form of sharing an intangible message he believed to be

life-saving. This conviction is shared by several prominent Christian leaders including David Platt (2010) who argues, “We owe Christ to the world—to the least person and to the greatest person, to the richest person and to the poorest person, to the best person and to the worst person. We are in debt to the nations” (p. 75). Like Paul, Platt’s passion for missions comes not from a deep-seeded duty to help the poor, but from a conviction that faith in Jesus is the only way to eternal life.

Many assumptions can be made about the call to missions given the above passages, some of which have no basis of accuracy given the context left out of the paragraphs I have outlined. However, two biblical purposes for mission work appear to be quite clear: the obligation of charity and the obligation to evangelize, or rather (to borrow a commonly used phrase) to spread the gospel. The call to spread the gospel gleams its significance uniquely from the teachings of the bible. While the call for charity has biblical groundwork, the action of helping the poor is an altogether secular enterprise. In other words, there would be no Christian evangelism without the life and ministry of Jesus, but charity has been a global force long before Jesus was born on this earth. Though Jesus’ teachings supported and even demanded acts of charity, his teachings did not activate charity itself. Therefore, when discussing missions there is conjointly the very worldly consideration of humanitarian aid which distinguishes itself from the biblical mandate to preach an other-worldly message. Jesus himself alludes to this dual nature of missions by praying that his disciples would be both “in the world” but “not of the world”¹¹. Christian missionaries, from the time of Jesus until today, have taken these dual roles to heart. For many, the call to the mission field has been a call to aid the poor and needy; the call for others has been to convert as many as possible to the ranks of Christianity; and still most, those who truly follow

the examples of Jesus and Paul, go into the mission field with both objectives in mind.

Regardless, the bible beckons the missionary to serve the needy, both spiritually and physically, and the reward for obedience is heavenly riches to be obtained in the afterlife. If one allows that developing countries are some of the most needy people in our modern society, then one would accurately conclude that these countries are popular targets for Christian missionaries. As we continue to follow the guidebook of history, we will see how the dual-objectives of missionaries have impacted the societies where the missionaries are sent.

I would like to note quickly that the modern-day Christian church is divided into several denominations, some of whom have source material for their doctrine other than the Christian bible. This in turn causes occasional disagreement within the Christian church over the nature and objectives of missions. For the purposes of this study, instead of making exception for the doctrinal differences across Christian denominations, I have been and will continue to be generalizing the Christian missions movement in the context of purely biblical analysis. The division of missions within the church is itself a valid and meaningful topic, however it is not the topic of this study. Though exceptions can be made, this generalization covers the majority of the churches' views on missions and will provide a sufficient foundation to move forward with the topic.

The growth of missions

A brief glimpse into the history of Christian missions will provide vast insight into the origins of the current expansive network of missionaries and may perhaps provide some reasons for some of the trends seen today. More so, an indirect comparison between the history of missions and

world history may allow disclosure of potential links between the history of Christianity and the history of the world. When studying the impact of missions, it is important to realize the contexts in which these missions were operating. In his book, *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*, missionary and professor Ralph D. Winter (1999) separates the early missions movement across Europe into five ‘phases’, each lasting approximately four hundred years, the first of which starting with the initiation of the Gregorian calendar and the last of which continuing to this day. These phases illustrate the stages in which Christianity moved through Europe and grew from a small coalition of Jewish Christ followers to the largest religion in the world.

Winning the Romans (AD 0-400)

Professor Winter names each of his phases of missions history in terms of conquest. For example, phase one Winter calls “Winning the Romans”. Following the conversion of Paul and the establishment of the Christian church in Antioch, Paul and a team of believers are sent off by the church to various regions of Asia Minor, which at that point was controlled by the Roman Empire. Similar mission teams are believed to have been sent out (though records of these teams are scarce) to other regions of the Roman controlled world, establishing churches throughout Roman provinces including the capital city of Rome itself. Despite scarcity of written records of such missionary expeditions, one thing is certain, by 312 AD Christianity was socially popular enough within Rome that the current emperor, Constantine I, publically declared his own conversion to the faith. Winter (1999) notes, “Today even the most agnostic historian stands amazed that what began in a humble stable in Bethlehem of Palestine, a backwater of the Roman Empire, in less than 300 years was given control of the emperors’ palace in Rome” (p. 199). In

the 300 years leading up to the conversion of Constantine and the eventual embrace of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in 375 AD, many question how such a relatively unknown religion started by just a few followers could have been spread so quickly. Some attribute this cultural phenomenon to the power of the message preached by the original Jewish missionaries. However not all (including the Romans for a time) welcomed the message with open arms. Winter (1999) writes, “There is good reason to suppose that the Christian faith spread in many areas by the “involuntary-go” mechanism, because Christians were often dispersed as the result of persecutions” (p. 201). This informal, decentralized dispersion of Christianity was not a result of occupational missionaries. In other words, the involuntary missionaries who spread across the Roman empire in the early centuries did not do so because they were sent by the church; they were everyday shopkeepers, farmers, artisans, and laborers who carried with them a message their persecutors were trying to extinguish. Ironically, the persecutors were integral in spreading that message to the Roman Empire and the eventual acceptance of Christianity as the official religion of Rome.

Winning the Barbarians (AD 400-800)

The effort to evangelize to the Barbarian nations to the north (Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, etc.) had a delayed start. It wasn't until after these foreign cultures started invading the Roman Empire (as a result of the Huns coming in from Central Asia) in the fifth century that they were exposed to the teachings of Christianity. Despite the newness of the religion, the Barbarian nations showed remarkable reluctance to destroy places of worship as they continued their raiding path towards Rome. This unexpected reverence prompted Winter (1999) to go as far as describing the Barbarian culture as “partially Christian”. This partiality towards Christianity may

have emboldened their conquest against the overtly Christian Rome. However, when the Roman Empire split and the western half fell in AD 476 to the hands of the Barbarians, the Barbarian world adapted a more complete form of Christianity for themselves. Winter (1999) writes, “The indisputable fact is that while the Romans lost the western half of their empire, the Barbarian world, in a very dramatic sense, gained a Christian faith” (p. 201). Winter also notes that the common phrase “third world” comes from this era (the first two worlds being Greek and Latin) as well as the phrase “third world missionaries”. The third world refers to the barbarian lands in northern Europe and third world missionaries referring to evangelists originating in these areas. The terminology of barbaric cultures and third worlds have changed, but the ideas behind these phrases remain to this day with new terms like “developed and undeveloped countries”.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in the west, missionaries wasted no time developing and spreading their version of Christianity. This included the establishment of 1,000 Benedictine mission compounds all over the Western Empire. Ireland, in particular, is described as an industrious source of Christian scholars and missionaries during this time. Traveling “third world missionaries” like Colomban (Irish) and Boniface (German) were present at this time and helped bring unity across the schism left by the fall of west. This unity helped relieve tensions, but nonetheless two separate denominations emerged: the Arian and the Athanasian (Noll, 1997, p. 103). When Charlemagne took control of the Roman Empire, a temporary peace followed and many missionaries gained freedom to commute and gather throughout Europe. Furthermore, Charlemagne passionately promoted Christianity and infused the established church with the political operations of the time resulting in what would later be called the Holy Roman Empire. This caused a key shift to occur in this era within the methodology of missions. Namely, more

and more missionaries are seen intentionally being sent out by the organized church instead of a forced dispersion through invasion and persecution. Augustine, the first missionary sent by the established Roman church, departed for the north in AD 596, but he found there several missionaries (including Colomban) who were already well-established and widely-traveled. However, also during this era the organized church became increasingly imperially motivated with the introduction of the religious and political office of Holy Roman Emperor.

Winning the Vikings (AD 800-1200)

Following the rule of Charlemagne, who did much to consolidate Christianity in Western Europe, uncivilized seafarers called Vikings came from Scandinavia and destroyed much of the societal progress achieved thus far. Unlike the Barbarians, the Vikings were completely oblivious to Christianity and had no regard for places of worship or religious authorities. This dragged the established church into a dark period. Christopher Dawson (1950), cultural scholar, writes of this time, “The Northmen cease not to slay and carry into captivity the Christian people, to destroy the churches and to burn the towns. Everywhere, there is nothing but dead bodies—clergy and laymen, nobles and common people, women and children. There is no road or place where the ground is not covered with corpses. We live in distress and anguish before this spectacle of the destruction of the Christian people” (p. 87). The Northmen pillaged for roughly 250 years, but yet again the Christian faith survived, and even thrived, despite the persecution. It was during this era that Christianity spread as far north as Scandinavia. Winter (1999) writes, “But once again the power of Christianity showed itself. The conquerors became the conquered. Often it was the monks sold as slaves or the Christian girls forced to be their wives and mistresses who eventually won these savages of the north.” (p. 148) The brutality of the Vikings

did little to dissuade traveling Christians from spreading their faith and Christianity spread quickly despite much persecution. This resulted in another ‘flourishing’ of Christianity in northern Europe and only strengthened the ties between faith and empire. This phase ended in the twelfth century with the rise of Innocent III, a pope, who becomes in many respects the most powerful man in Europe. This final fusion of religion and politics resulted in a stalling of the Christian missions movement. With leaders content to expand religion only as far as they could extend their political power, the established Christian church did little to reach out beyond the confines of northern Europe with the gospel during this time. This all changes shortly hereafter for better or for worse.

Winning the Serecans (AD 1200-1600)

One cannot talk about the history of the Christian church without acknowledging the crusades. The crusades were a time when human dignity was abandoned for religious zeal and holy duty, the product of which resulted in what is regarded as the worst atrocity committed by the Christian church. Winter (1999) writes of this time, “Ironically, part of the ‘flourishing’ of the faith toward the end of the previous period led to disaster: never before had any nation or group of nations in the name of Christ launched as energetic and sustained a campaign into foreign territory as did Europe in the tragic debacle of the Crusades. This was in part the carryover of the Viking spirit into the Christian Church. All of the major Crusades were led by Viking descendants” (p. 209). On one hand, the crusades mark one of the first instances of religious mandate on behalf of the religious leaders at the time, who were so intertwined with the political forces that it is unclear which sphere was dominating the other. The result was a catastrophic abandoning of Christian principles in the name of Christianity. It should be noted that the

crusades are perhaps unfairly highlighted in the pages of history as an age of Christian imperialistic terror. The crusades were neither the first nor last affront on human rights committed in the name Christianity, nor were they wholly instigated by religious incentives. Nonetheless, this period sent the church into a whirlwind of power-grabbing and political desperateness that continues to tarnish the reputation of Christianity to this day.

As negatively impactful as the crusades were, two notable exceptions stand out for denouncing the warfare and violence: Francis of Assisi and Raymond Lull. These two missionaries used their faith to promote peace instead of violence and caregiving instead of political greed. The Friars, missionaries devoted to the Franciscan ideals of peace and service, sprung up during this period in direct contrast to the greed practiced at the political level. More so, due to the geographical span of the crusades increasing the availability of intercontinental travel, these Friars often ventured outside the confines of Europe to spread their faith even further. Then came the Black Plague. The Black Plague, seen first in 1346, was worse (more deadly) than all the invasions of the past three phases. As the Black Plague devastated Europe, the Friars stayed behind to tend to the sick and bury the dead, and as a result, suffered greatly from death and sickness themselves. Often referred to as the true keepers of the Gospel, the Friars highlight a time amidst the darkest age of politics-dominated Christianity when missions concentrated heavily on helping the needy, even to the point of personal detriment. Their examples have perhaps not outshined the terror of the crusades, yet both events are worth noting in the context of current world missions and both are relevant to the impending rise of Protestantism and the fracturing of the Holy Roman Empire.

Winning the world (AD 1600-present day)

The final phase of Christian missions as outlined by Winters spans from the fallout of the Reformation to present day. The majority of recorded history involves these last four hundred years and much of that history would be interesting and enlightening in the context of the spread of Christianity; however due to the copious amounts of information available from these last four centuries I will not be able to comment on each applicable event. However I will make exception to three periods of time within this era that demonstrate ideological movements that continue to shape missions today. The first is the Reformation, which was a time of church restructuring beginning in Germany with the theologian Martin Luther. This movement results directly from the invention of the printing press in the 15th century by Johannes Gutenberg. As bibles became readily accessible to the general public, Christians realized the incongruence of political agenda with biblical teaching and they began to meticulously disentangle the political greed embedded in the established church. The result, Protestantism, was a church founded in the wake of a crumbling Holy Roman Empire and a “returning” of sorts of religious power to the people.

Despite the intentions of prominent leaders in the Reformation, Christianity arguably increased its effect on the political process, but in a very different way. With the fracturing of the church and the congruent fracturing of the empire into autonomous regions, denominations of Christianity became increasingly nationalistic, the most notable example being Lutheranism in Germany. Because being a “proper Lutheran” was so closely related to being a “proper German”, the fascist movement used distorted religious propaganda to endorse the actions of the state, including the killing of “less than ideal Germans”. Joerg Rieger (2010), in his book *Globalization and Theology*, writes, “German fascism is fundamentally misunderstood if it seen

as the work of a secular group of power-brokers...distorted Christian faith had come to endorse a fascist ideology and the rule of the few over the many, even in the church” (p. 13). The lines between political and religious motivations within the church regarding the rise and fall of Nazism in Germany are blurry at best, and dedicated missionaries like Barth and Bonhoeffer worked tirelessly in Germany to insist that the established “church” did not always represent the will of God (Metaxas, 2010). Though history provides us with the ruthless consequences of such thinking, at the time fascist ideals and Christian ideals were aligned. Rieger (2010) writes “It is often overlooked that the fascist motto was not that Germany would destroy the world, but that the German way of life would heal the world (*am deutschen Wesen soll die Welt genesen*) based on the view that German achievements in all areas of culture (humanities, philosophy, sciences, and so on) would be in a position to show the way to a better life” (p. 23). Rieger continues with the haunting question, “Who could deny that this attitude is still at work in many contemporary embodiments of globalization?”

In regards to the movement of ideas in this era, these last four hundred years have seen unequaled expansion of material, power, and information. Not exempt from this expansion is the Christian faith, whose influence reached over the globe with same arm as Europe’s political influence. Though Christianity has been preached and spread to areas of Asia and Africa before this era, this study has been focusing on European history because its history has the closest and best-recorded relationship with the Christian church since its inception. Furthermore, to understand the contrast between the West and non-West in regards to missions, I deemed it necessary to clearly define how the “West” (Europe) came into power. Out of this power came temporary domination over the non-West in the form of colonialism and subsequently spread the

“Western” religion of Christianity to areas of the world where the teachings of Christ were not as widely preached or accepted. To an extent, this same idea of “West” verses “non-West” continues to infiltrate today’s conversation on faith and missions, though today we use updated vernacular. Therefore it is essential to understand the political and religious ambitions of the West as a worldview even though biblical Christianity was by no means limited to Europe or the West preceding this era. Yet in this era, following an age of exploration, the Western ideal suddenly becomes a dominant political force in the form of colonialism. Given the entangled nature of Western politics and Christianity, it is not surprising that the age of colonialism ushered a new wave of missionaries to edges of the world yet untouched by the gospel message.

Historical review conclusions

It should be noted in comparing the first four phases as outlined by Ralph Winter, each era is marked by a dark period which is followed by a period of renaissance, catapulting Christianity to a yet unseen position in society. In an interesting comparison, Winter (1999) puts forth the notion that “out of chaos God would bring a new cluster of people groups to be included in his ‘blessing’” (p. 209). For the first period, three centuries of persecution ended in the “classical renaissance” with the leadership of Constantine and Eusebius. Likewise the second period again found the modern world in chaos under the threat of rampaging Gothic invaders, yet out of the darkness came the resilient blooming of the church during the time of Charlemagne. The third phase sees extended hardships as Vikings irreverently destroy religious buildings and artifacts across Europe and the crusades tinted the faith with organized violence, but in their wake came the “Twelfth Century Renaissance” of faith and ideas. Even the Black Plague, brutal and devastating though it was, eventually set the church on course toward reformation which in turn

infused the missions movement with life and energy. As a general rule, despite very real and in many cases horrifying indecencies committed to and by the church, each time the church has not been abolished or antiquated, but has instead flourished. A very relevant question for missionaries and historians alike to be asking is simply: are we today in a period of chaos, or a period of renaissance? The answer to this question is as much a matter of perspective as it is a matter of conviction. Without knowledge of tomorrow's consequences, it is difficult to appraise the actions of today. However, if past trends are to be trusted, then Christianity will remain a global force for ages to come, and history will be the best judge. What does that mean for missionaries today? The history of Europe seems to indicate that the more entwined Christianity becomes with the political powers of the time, the more likely it becomes to produce unintended crises contrary to the teachings of Jesus. However this historical perspective has also shown that these periods of chaos are relieved, however temporarily, by a return to fundamental Christian teachings. Missionaries, therefore have just cause to consider the political intent of their endeavors even if such intent is secondary motivation to spiritual conviction. One must be particularly wary of the influence of Western culture which has stamped an inherently political quality onto the worldview carried by most Christian missionaries. This study will examine this worldview further as it considers two examples of missionary activity during the age of colonialism.

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDIES

Like the flow of established Christianity, the flow of modernization has come through and out of Europe. Christopher Dawson noted that by 1945, Europeans had achieved virtual control over 99.5% of the non-Western world (Dawson, 1929). Much of this “control” was flexed during what is now known as the age of colonialism. Colonialism has left its mark on society and even today its economic bruises can be felt by millions of people. A quick look at the list of developed and undeveloped countries as classified by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations (2014) will reveal that 31 out of the 36 developed countries (86%) are European. Furthermore, according to the same list 45 of the 49 least developed countries (92%) have been colonized or occupied by a European country at some point in their history. Even though the motivations for colonialism were largely imperial, it cannot be denied that a significant byproduct of the spread of the West included the spread of the religion of the West, which at this point in history was undoubtedly Christianity. Continuing with the “West and non-West” distinction, the age of colonialism must be considered the widest dissemination of Western ideals in recorded history, resulting in a missions movement with range far beyond the immediate reach of the Holy Roman Empire. Though missions in these far off countries did not begin with the initiation of colonialism, the prominence and influence of colonial rule acted as a vehicle for the message of Jesus to be spread resulting in an unbreakable link between the two movements of missions and colonialism.

How exactly then has Christianity played a role in colonialism? Was the intention of colonization to spread Christianity, or was the intention of Christian missions to promote colonization? How connected are the worlds of missions and colonization after all? These are the types of questions that need to be asked to understand the relationship between missions and colonization, and in turn development. The age of colonialism has been judged by history and often the verdict has returned as guilty. Colonial rule has done tremendous harm to many cultures and people groups around the world, but my intent with this section is not to critique or even document colonial oppression. Rather, my curiosities lie in the links between the consequences (both positive and negative) of missions leading up to and during the age of colonialization. By studying these links in the past we can better understand the consequences of missions in the modern age of development.

Introduction and disclaimer

To fully understand the implications and consequences of any major social or economic force, it is imperative to return to an understanding of cause and effect relationships. Therefore as we approach the delicate topic of colonialism, one must not cite the wealth of meticulously accumulated recorded evidence of its tangible impacts without acknowledging the sequence of events that made it so. In other words, though it would be interesting to investigate the humanitarian and political effects of colonialism present today, it would be unhelpful in discovering consequences unless also accompanied by a review of history. History, however, is an experienced but fickle teacher. Each country affected by the wake of colonialism has had a distinct entanglement with its colonizing force and a survey of all such encounters cannot be adequately evaluated in the confines of this paper, nor would such a paper be relevant to current

missionary and development ideas and trends. To this effect I have decided to look deeper into the annals of only two countries: New Zealand and South Africa. These countries were chosen on account of the high volume of mission work accomplished in the nineteenth century and thus the high volume of mission literature available for review. Though both of these countries were subject to colonial rule by England, each country has respectively had its own unique process of subjugation involving the role of missionaries. By taking a closer look at a broad subject by putting these histories under a microscope, I will point out important clues that may provide a basis of understanding of the overreaching topic at hand.

I must remind the reader, however, of what I believe to be the harmful but tragically common fallacy of reductionism. Geographic and sociologic reductionism dangerously prompt the searcher of truth to narrow his or her understanding to one or two fields of study or locations on a map in hopes of finding a simple answer to a complex problem. To borrow the words of anthropologist T.O. Beidelman (1974), “the missionary project was everywhere made particular by variations in the structure of local communities, in the social and theological background of the evangelists, and in the wider context and precise circumstances within which the encounter took place.” I must stress, therefore, that a closer look at the two countries I propose to study will not provide an absolute encompassing solution to the connections between missions and global development, no matter how many consistencies I find. Neither can I submit a trustworthy hypothesis that theology was to blame for all of the perils, or indeed the benefits, of European colonization. To do so would be to undermine the intense complexity of the interwoven cultures and systems unique to every corner of the world and to reduce the colorful power of globalization to an issue of plain black and white. This tendency of reductionism is not only

unhelpful in pursuing knowledge, but allows a dangerous justification for a copy-and-paste method of problem solving which, as we will see, can harm and destroy an indigenous culture when applied to development.

Cautious of the shadow of reductionism, I will continue to make my case using the specific examples of New Zealand and South Africa with full knowledge of their inadequacy to represent the rest of the world. However, these examples will show us several links between the development of these countries and the influence of missionaries in these countries, and will perhaps show us glimpses of methodology that is consistent with the practices of missionaries before and after the missionaries of the colonialist era. Furthermore, these case studies will allow a better, though incomplete, understanding of missions in an imperialistic era that now is under the scrutiny of investigation in light of several recent independence and culture-reclaiming movements in postcolonial countries. The argument can be made that today is also an era of imperialism, though in a different form. The roles and methods of missionaries during the era of colonialism, more than any other time period in history, may provide the missionaries of today with examples of how their mission can change the course of nations.

Case Study 1: New Zealand

I will begin the investigation by reviewing interactions between English colonialists and the Māori people (indigenous inhabitants of islands now known as New Zealand). Tony Ballantyne, professor of history at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand, comments at length about these interactions in his book, *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Māori, and the Question of the Body*, which will provide the base of this section's argument. To give a brief

timeline of New Zealand's history with Europe: the North Island (locally called Te Ika a Māui) was discovered in October 1769 by Lieutenant James Cook in his infamous voyage in *Endeavour*. Cook found a native population of approximately 100,000 inhabitants, descendants of voyagers who sailed to the island around 1250 C.E. New Zealand was not formally colonized by the British Empire until 1840, and until that time, few Europeans set foot on the islands with permanent intentions. An exception to this rule were two particular groups: traders and missionaries. While traders largely avoided contact with the Māori (though not enough to pass along novelties like metal, written word, firearms, and European diseases), the missionaries represented a network of God-fearing sojourners who primarily desired “to effect cultural and religious change” (p. 3). To this extent, it was through interactions with the missionaries that the Māori learned the European skills and culture such as literacy, agriculture, and of course, organized Christianity. The missionaries began to arrive in New Zealand the early to mid-1810s and began gaining significant results in the Māori by the 1830s. These few decades before colonization are the years I will chiefly examine to identify the missionary effect on the land to become the nation of New Zealand.

Interactions between the Māori and the missionaries at first glance seem one-sided; the give-and-take scale tipping in favor of the missionaries. After all, what interest can a technologically inferior race hold for the “god-like” white Man with ships and guns? Ballantyne (2014) makes note of this inaccuracy by offering the following counter-argument: “Even though the missionaries were driven by a deep commitment to effect social and religious change, these encounters must not be understood through a simple challenge-response model wherein missionaries are imagined as active agents, while Māori stand as objects of historical processes.

In the end it was Māori desire for contact with Europeans, their interest in agriculture, literacy, and muskets, and the support of powerful rangatira [Māori chiefs] that enabled the foundation of the CMS mission in 1814” (p. 13). The mutual exchange between these two peoples, for better or worse, provided a harbor for the incoming tide of imperial rule, though colonization was not the principle intent of most of these missionaries. Early missions in New Zealand, instead of a figurative bulldozer clearing the land for renovation, often took the form of marketplaces, trading posts, education centers, and common places of worship. Ballantyne (2014) writes, “In order to Christianize Māori society, missionaries first had to grasp the operation of essential social laws, develop a basic understanding of local politics and kin-group rivalries, and gain linguistic competence in spoken Māori” (p. 5). The penetrance of Māori culture, especially of te reo Māori (their language), into the lives of European missionaries allowed an unprecedented respect between cultures, even prompting Henry Williams (1961), prominent missionary to New Zealand, to hypothesize that they were connected by a common Indo-European or Aryan racial heritage. For their part, the Māori were initially skeptical of missionary presence, they soon learned the value of European skills and technology. Contrary to popular belief these skills provided the Māori with power at the dawn of political suppression in the 1840s. Ballantyne (2014) writes “Literacy and the Bible provided successive generations of Māori leaders with new skills and knowledge that could be turned against colonization” (p. 4). In addition to the economic skills of education and technology, the missionaries came with the message of Christianity: a message that demanded justification of beliefs and customs, questioned the established order, and encouraged new ways of thinking about the convergence of God and Man. This was a message that revolutionized the intellectual awareness of the polytheistic Māori and developed in them the capacity for argument, definition, and opposition. The missionary’s

success in giving the Māori the intellectual and physical weapons of civilization gave many missionaries the unflattering label “philo-Māoris” (Māori lovers) who were “intent on preventing the extension of colonial authority and the affective amalgamation of the Māori” (Anon, 1845). These observations, among further evidence that must be omitted for brevity, point to a conclusion expressed best once again in the words of Ballantyne (2014): “Contrary to some cultural readings of the mission, the missionaries did not carve out ‘little Englands’ where mission fences created a self-contained cultural space in opposition to the Māori world that surrounded them. Instead they were sites of translation, compromise, and struggle that stood at the center of new cultural circuits...neither fully British nor purely Māori” (p. 97).

Despite the missionaries’ nonpolitical ambition, the entanglement of cultures occurring in mission compounds had many unintentional and irrevocable consequences. Utilizing the viewpoint of historical perspective, a highly distinguishable link can be drawn between the initial exchanges between Māori and missionaries and the following suppression of Māori culture by English imperialists. We have established that missionaries were not in themselves imperialists, as evidenced by their method of integration rather than subjugation; however it was perhaps this very same integration that fortified the British empire’s foothold in New Zealand. Keith Sinclair, a prominent researcher and historian argues in his book, *A History of New Zealand* that missionary ideas were “more destructive than bullets”, demoralizing and destabilizing to Māori by 1840 (Sinclair, 1988). Ranginui Walker, a historian of Māori descent, agrees by equating missionaries with the “advanced party of cultural invasion” (Walker, 1990). While we must be aware of generalizing cause and effect relationships of history, one can find arguments supporting these conclusions in the writings of Samuel Marsden, early missionary and colonial

chaplain to New Zealand in the early 1800s. Marsden was driven by the reward of “improvement” and used religion to justify a merging of evangelism and introducing what he called “civilized arts”. Ballantyne writes, “[Marsden] considered the empire to be a potent vehicle for the dissemination of Christianity and Christian missionaries to be agents for the extension of commerce around the globe. In the 1810s Marsden understood Christianity, commerce, and colonization as a tightly bound cultural package” (p. 48). Marsden’s vision for the cultural improvement of New Zealand was not shared by all of his evangelical comrades, and his position of state-appointed chaplain must be taken into account. However, Marsden’s expansive sphere of influence and his preference to equate the will of God with the will of England. Marsden, in a letter to Lachlan Macquarie, suggested that “commerce promotes industry—industry civilization and civilization opens up the way for the Gospel” (Ellis, 1947, p. 373). Marsden invites more skepticism by writing in 1808, “The attention of the Heathens, can only be gained and their vagrant Habits corrected, by the Arts. Till their attention be gained and the moral and industrious habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the Gospel...To preach the Gospel without the aid of the Arts will never succeed amongst the Heathens for any time” (Marsden, 1808). Such thinking ultimately failed as a strategy of evangelism and Marsden was confronted by other mission leaders, most notably Thomas Kendall, in 1821 (Kendall, 1821), but by then it was too late. Already Marsden had given a Christian stamp of approval on a process that undermined and attacked Māori culture and customs. The long-established and highly esteemed Māori custom of facial tattoos (tā moko), for instance, came under scrutiny and critical pressure from some missionaries. Ballantyne (2014) records that “Missionary texts, especially those from early years of the mission, dwelt on this custom and frequently suggest that tattooing had to be set aside if Māori were to truly embrace

Christianity and if they were to progress toward ‘Civilization’” even suggesting that “some missionaries saw [tattooing] as evidence of Satan’s continued power in New Zealand” (p. 7). Though these ideas perhaps reflected a minority of missionary prejudice, they do represent an unignorably devastating consequence of the exchange which was ignited by missionary presence. Ballantyne (2014) concludes his book *Entanglements of Empire* by writing, “It is one of the tragic ironies of New Zealand’s colonial past that missionaries—who for so long were implacable opponents of colonization—were in fact pivotal in entangling Māori in the webs of empire in the first place” (p. 259).

Once again, history provides us with a unique perspective and, to some, a moral justification. New Zealand currently is not on any index of developing or undeveloped countries and has remained peacefully untangled in the global conflicts that have consumed much of the rest of the world. As the eras faded from colonialism to post-colonialism to modern day, New Zealand has emerged as a rare example of prosperity with independence coming about in the 1960s by a series of diplomatic processes rather than a bloody war. In the case of New Zealand as a nation, an argument of consequentialism works in favor of the missionaries, but no such argument can be made in the case of New Zealand as a culture. The Māori, the only legitimate keepers of raw undefiled New Zealand culture, were crushed under the wheels of the British empire, and comparatively little remnant of their culture remains in New Zealand today. The question I wish to address is simply, are Christians to blame? Ballantyne (2014) argues the negative: “Social change within Māori communities around the Bay of Islands was not the simple consequence of a missionary ‘crusade to destroy’ Māori belief systems, but rather was the outcome of translation, conversion, and debate” (p. 255). By looking closely at New Zealand’s colonial

history as outlined in this case study, the clarity of intent displayed by missionaries directs attention to the message, not the means. To quote Ballantyne (2014) again, “At its heart, evangelization was a project of cultural reform grounded in the vernacularization of Christianity. In other words, the ultimate object of the missionary was not ‘Anglicization,’ but rather the translation of the Bible into te reo Māori and the creation of strong communities of Māori Christians” (p. 254). Intent, however, differs vastly from consequence, and to this end missionaries must accept partial responsibility. However, as Ballantyne suggests, the spreading of the Gospel did not brainwash the Māori into compliance nor was it the gasoline in the engine of empire. What missionaries provided instead was the capacity of debate, exchange, knowledge, proximity, and yes also, conflict and entanglement. These devices grew out of the inevitable collision of two self-sustaining cultures learning mutual dependence and produced much good for the Māori despite its ultimate regrettable end. More so, it was out of these secular devices, not the teachings of the Bible, that fortified the foundation of empire and attacked the development of the Māori. That they were introduced to New Zealand by Christian missionaries instead of by some other vehicle reflects only upon the carelessness of means, not the toxicity of the message.

Case Study 2: South Africa

Missions in South Africa took a similar course as missions in New Zealand through each country’s respective history with colonization, however due to differences in cultural values of the native populations and variations of evangelistic theory practiced by the missionaries, new points of emphasis emerge we continue our study of missions and development. Accompanying these new points are several points of reinforcement, consistencies between the two methods and

cultures, which I shall evaluate in closing. Like New Zealand, South Africa was infiltrated and later colonized by European settlers in the early nineteenth century. These settlers were primarily Dutch and English, although over time the English quickly dominated the Dutch presence and South Africa became a dominion of the British Empire in 1909. The nation held this status until May 31, 1961 when Republic South Africa became a sovereign state as a result of a referendum. For the purposes of this section, the modern borders enclosing the sovereign nation of South Africa will be lent a degree of ambiguity. As these borders were mandated and enforced by colonialist law, we must not regard them as wholly legitimate when debating the forces and ethics inherent in the laws that established them. Furthermore we will be touching on causes and processes set into motion long before these borders were officially established. I must be clearer now on this point than with New Zealand (due to its island status): though “South Africa” appears in the title of this section and for simplicity we will use it throughout as reference, this section will be discussing populations and intrusions not limited strictly to the borders of the modern-day nation.

The examples of interactions between the indigenous populations of South Africa and the European missionaries are well documented in South African literature. Most of this literature provides commentary on the “interplay of power and meaning” (Comaroff, 1986). On this subject, renowned Harvard professors Jean and John Comaroff have co-written an essay titled *Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa*. According to the Comaroffs (1986), “Power, the capacity to impose the conditions of being on others, does not reside solely in palpable forces of influence. As Marx and Weber noted long ago, it has a second, less visible aspect. This involves the incorporation of human subjects into the ‘natural,’ taken-for-granted forms of economy and

society...It requires the internalization of a set of values, an ineffable manner of seeing and being. As others have observed, it is precisely here that the evangelist left his mark most deeply in southern Africa.” Taking into account the “subtle colonization by the missionary” as argued in this essay, the emphasis (and indeed the blame with it) of power relationships between the natives and Europeans lifts from the steamrolling force of the British Empire and lands on the shoulders of Christian missions. As we shall examine, the fairness of this assessment has and continues to be debated, however its irony is unmistakable: “The evangelist failed where he hoped most to succeed—in creating a unified black Protestant church in a South Africa built on Christian principles—yet succeeded where his actions were least tangible; in restructuring the native conceptual universe in important respects, he laid the ground for its integration into the industrial capitalist world” (Comaroff, 1986). In other words, despite the introduction of wealth, prestige, and humanitarian development accompanying missions in southern Africa, inherent in these provisions was a restructuring of political thought that paved the way for colonization. No evidence can be found of missionaries sent by the political powers at the time to “prepare the land” for political subjugation. On the contrary, missionaries saw their work as a wholly sacrificial enterprise on behalf of the native people. Despite these benevolent intentions, the Comaroffs argues that missions in this context by their very nature were political because of the deeply woven connections between the Christian religion and the European conceptions of power, worth, and civility.

The native population of South Africa was divided into many sub-populations by the time the first missionaries arrived in the 1820s. One of these tribes was known as the Tshidi, who were descendants of the more commonly known Tswana people. The Tswana people, including the

Tshidi were very animistic, especially in matters of weather and agriculture. So much were their beliefs ingrained into their culture, tribal perception of political power was rooted in religious ritual and traditional symbolism rather than material wealth or demonstrated leadership. An example of such superstition that attracted much attention from the missionaries was the “native dance” designed to summon *pula*. In Tshidi culture, *pula* meant both “rain” and “well-being” and the maintaining of both was the responsibility of the chief. Issac Schapera (1971) writes, “Their authority was intimately connected to their ritual success.” Almost immediately this particular ritual was met with condemnation and conflict from European missionaries as demonstrated by missionary Samuel Broadbent who wrote, “when I heard the sounds of the ‘native dance’ in the royal court, I went out to oppose it, and preach to those...willing to hear” (Comaroff, 1986). The Comaroffs (1986) note that “almost every missionary felt compelled to act against it” by offering the people religious liberty in Christ. The uncompromising behavior resulted in a two-fold consequence: the first and more obvious was a conflict between the followers of the chief and the converts of the missionaries. The second consequence, one that did not become evident for many years, was a “cleavage between the ‘people of the world’ and the ruler” (Comaroff, 1986). In other words, the authority of the chiefship for the first time was challenged on the grounds of moral legitimacy. Unaware of this second consequence, the missionaries jeopardized the success of their own project: “For by advancing the course of Christianity as they did, the Wesleyans, like other missionaries in Africa, eroded not only the spiritual aspect of the chiefship but its entire foundation.” The Comaroffs (1986) continue by writing, “In seeking to restore religious authority to God, they drove a wedge between two dimensions of power and legitimacy which, for Tswana, were indissoluble”. By fracturing a chiefship which, in the context of the Tshidi, was a bridge between the religious and the political, the missionary stepped in with the

alternative making their presence among the tribes unintentionally but undeniably politically charged. Even though the missionaries made efforts to keep the “secular” legitimacy of Tshidi authoritarian structure intact, any affront to the symbolic structure of Tshidi was intrinsically an act of political rebellion. Once the Tshidi began questioning their fundamental assumptions of authority, they started down a path that led to radical individualism which did little to rally converts under the banner of Christ. T.O. Beidelman (1974) sums up the tragic irony well by commenting, “The missionaries instilled attitudes and values which they later condemned, mainly because they themselves had a poor comprehension of their own assumptions and activities.”

The social spheres of sacred and secular intersect not only in the question of power and authority, but in the very mechanics of Tswana society, mechanics that were immediately challenged by the presence of the missionaries. Specifically the values of time and work took on a distinctly European meaning through the implementation of compulsory “Christian” practices. In this way, Christianity became not only a political force, but an industrial and economic force as well. Regarding time, the missionaries brought new and precise methods of telling time in the form of clocks and calendars. “The weekly schedule and annual calendar of the church ordered everyday routine in both its secular and sacred dimensions, demarcating in what the Tshidi world had been a continuous cycle of events and seasons” (Comaroff, 1986). Thompson (1967) even argues that the impersonal clock is the fundamental instrument for inculcating the organizational forms of capitalist production. This new emphasis on time placed an even larger emphasis on the value of time efficiency and therefore work. Tswana society operated in the nineteenth century on the idea that labor was to be shared, as was the fruit of that labor. This standard, in addition to

unique superstitions and gender norms, caused Tswana to typically place little value on accumulating individual wealth, prompting missionary Reverend Mackenzie to write, “In order to complete the work of elevating the people, we must teach them the arts of civilized life...to till their own land, sow and reap their own crops, build their own barns, as well as tend their own flocks” (Comaroff, 1986). Though perhaps said with altruistic intention, the equation of “civilized life” to the sense of “ownership” propelled the radical sense of individualism that characterized European culture and undermined the communal structure of Tswana society. “If civilization was to flourish,” Comaroff (1986) writes, “the ‘holy family’ of the Christian cosmos, and its conventional, gender-based division of labor, had to triumph over ‘communistic’ interdependence.” Soon, missionaries were drilling wells (further undermining the symbolism of the chief’s rainmaking responsibility), plowing fields with livestock (breaching the division of labor and gender norms), and building houses strategically gridded (as opposed to the traditional circular neighborhoods) with a place of worship at the center. The Tswana people began to realize they could achieve physically what the missionaries were teaching spiritually, namely that “salvation was attainable through arduous and methodical self-construction” (Comaroff, 1986). Education, which was offered by the missionaries, enforced this conception of individualism in work ethic. Beidelman (1947) notes that missionaries have “long recognized that education provides the most powerful means to convert Africans [to Christianity].” Yet in addition to its potency as a weapon against “heathenism”, mission schools also propagated economic and quasi-capitalistic individualism at an astounding rate. Students learned that those who work hard for themselves achieve rank and status above their peers, a similar dichotomy of rank and status that so defined the segregation to plague South Africa through colonization and beyond. Much more can be said about clothes, ceremonies, medicine, and other examples of the

disparity between how Tswana lived and how the Christians thought they “ought” they live based on their biblical beliefs. However if these introductions to Christian humanitarianism are indeed an error, then the error lies in their representation of being religious or moral; when in fact, these perceptions of work and time are wholly cultural and industrial.

Christianity, for its part, was not always welcomed with open arms by the Tswana. While the newness of the words and lifestyles of missionaries were treated with cautious suspicion, the missionaries themselves were courted rigorously by tribesmen as a sign of status (Comaroff). Once the novelty of their mere presence faded into familiarity, the missionaries had already established the aforementioned forces (education, time, work ethic, etc.) which quickly became essential to the villages. Most records seem to indicate that schools and employment attracted Tswana to Christianity, and Christianity did not attract Tswana to the schools and employment. British historian Dr. Norman Etherington (1977) has documented, “Definite reasons for station residence are given for 177 individuals. Religious interest alone accounts for only 12 percent of these cases. 26 percent came seeking employment, 33 percent came seeking refuge from disagreeable situations or persecution in their old communities, 15 percent came to join relatives, and 14 percent to accompany missionaries transferred to a new posting.” Etherington (1977) continues on to conclude that the Tswana people accepted the white man’s presence on account of “the desire for security, material or psychological. Unless missionaries could offer certain kinds of security they failed.” The irony of this conclusion is revealed by history: the desire for security led the Tswana, along with other indigenous tribes, down a path that ended in the upheaval of their established social structure. The Comaroffs (1986) make note of this irony by writing, “The evangelists, by virtue of their politics of the spirit, introduced the Tshidi to an

altogether novel world view. Yet, lacking the manifest power to consummate their project, they could not produce the world to go with it.” To conclude, the missionaries to South Africa were not imperialists, nor did they come to South Africa with maliciousness toward the native tribes. The Comaroffs (1986) describe the missionaries as “more likely to be hostages to the vagaries of local circumstances.” They viewed their service as life-giving and saw their project as an act of material and societal development for the Tswana. However, in the end it wasn’t their religion that made the Tswana blind and susceptible to the would-be forces of political captivity in the age of colonialism, it was a series of subtle messages, separate from the teachings of Christianity, that the missionaries carried with them from Europe. These unintentional messages, from the questioning of authority to the championing of individualism, introduced the Tswana not to God but to Europe long before the British Empire ever arrived at their gates.

Case study conclusions

Looking back at the two case studies I have covered, let us consider again some of the lingering questions about Christianity in the context of colonialism and how we may draw applications to the context of development. For though colonialism and imperialism are often used interchangeably, rarely will the developmental forces of today be referred to as imperialistic in common speech despite sharing striking similarities with colonial forces. In each case, the presence of a foreign “more civilized” nation imposes a political force upon the members of an economically or technologically inferior nation. Though one will often dismiss such similarities to a difference in intent—the colonist intended to rule where the humanitarian intends to heal—these studies have shown that it is often the unintended consequences, not the expressions of intent, that prove to be the most potent forces of change.

Greg Denning (2003) writes in his book, *The Comaroffs Out of Africa*, “Both the native and the colonizing side of the encounter are owed both a history and an anthropology.” This view is important to consider when evaluating the effectiveness of any imperialistic event. However I would consider adding a third party to this group: missionaries. Though European missionaries are often grouped into the ranks of the “colonizing force”, we have seen that their intentions, their methods, and their responses to adversity vary considerably from the brute force of government under official colonial rule. Neither do the timelines of missionary involvement and colonial rule coincide enough to group their histories into one overarching category. In the cases of New Zealand and South Africa, I have attempted to give missionaries their own distinction, as they indeed have distinct interactions with the natives and the colonialists. These unique interactions are the necessary clues to analyzing the help and hurt done by missionaries to the native peoples of these countries separate from the help and hurt done by secular governments.

Regarding this spectrum of help and hurt and how the Christian missions movement played a role during the age of colonialism, I linger at the crossroads of history and philosophy. If I could provide a moral justification to the age of colonization, then I would be venturing into a far more complex realm of social theory than promised by the subject of this study. However, if we acknowledge the relationships of cause and effect in the countries of South Africa and New Zealand through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we are faced with the undeniable reality that the effect, justified or not, was accomplished in part by the actions of European missionaries. Though the missionaries may have entered the Māori and Tswana cultures with the pure and righteous purpose of saving souls and improving well-being, they brought with them more than

the tools of humanitarian aid; they brought with them the worldview of the West. In New Zealand, this worldview primarily took the form of industriousness and the overwhelming desire of self-improvement. Yet it was the missionaries, specifically Samuel Marsden, that defined the standard of improvement on behalf of the Māori. In South Africa, the Western worldview took the form of ownership and the idea that one could work hard to stand out from the community. This revolutionary idea undermined the Tswana system of authority and put tremendous value on material wealth. In each case study, the presence of missionaries softened the native populations' resistance to this revolutionary worldview and rendered them powerless to the imperialistic machine of political subjugation.

The Western worldview is not inherently immoral. However, it is based on a system that is the result of decades of social, political, and economic evolution in Europe. To assume that a system which works well in one part of the world will have equal effect in every part of the world is not only arrogant but dangerously ignorant of all other systems currently in place. New Zealand and South Africa show that this copy-and-paste method of Western ideals does not always work in favor of developing societies because these societies, simply put, are not Europe. In the broader scope of international development, many developing countries today have never recovered from the conquest of the Western worldview resulting in the modern division of developed and undeveloped countries (which is itself an extension of West versus non-West ideology). It is difficult to hypothesize that an alternative history without missionaries would not have reached the same ends as our actual history, and one cannot assume that Christian missionaries are solely responsible for the spread of the Western worldview. However, these case studies indicate that Christian missionaries provided more than their intended material and spiritual aid to the

indigenous populations; they provided an unintentional worldview that resulted in social and economic damage.

CHAPTER III

CURRENT TRENDS

The spirit of humanitarian development has overwhelmingly increased since the days of colonialism. Many speculate this rise to be a result of simple modernization. With new abilities like the ability to travel to road-less sectors of the world and take pictures of poverty-stricken communities has increased public attention to the plights of developing nations. With the increased attention has come the conviction to do something about it. The United States alone has committed 7.24 trillion dollars to aggregate development since 1947 according to research compiled by AidData.org (“AidData”, 2015). The biblical emphasis to “help the needy” and “go therefore to all nations” perhaps has never been less Christian as it is today. I mean this in the sense that public awareness has motivated individuals and organizations to initiate developmental projects overseas independently from the motivation of faith. Traditional missions projects like building schools and tending the sick, previously reserved for men of faith, became accessible and sought after by a more inclusive group of “humanitarians”. Evidence to this reality has been the rise of secular developmental organizations as well as governmental organizations who are committed to end poverty in developing countries without declaring religious affiliation.

Remembering the dual role of missions as discussed earlier in this study, it seems at a glance that one of the two roles, that of helping the needy, is not exclusive to the teachings of Christianity. One must remember also that this role of missions was not initiated by Christ but only encouraged. It is the second role of missions, that of evangelism, that was initiated by Christ in

the Great Commission and the reason faith based developmental aid has remained a powerful force in the world today. The idea of spreading the gospel, at this point in history, is the most prominent and most potent differentiation that separates faith based aid from secular aid. As a result, the definition of “missions” in the eyes of the world has largely changed. Missions is now seen as the evangelism arm of international developmental aid, not the aid itself. This current definition, as we will discuss, is contended by many who still believe that evangelism and development are fundamentally connected in the dual roles of biblical missions. How then does faith fit into developmental aid? If missionaries are no longer needed to help the poor, are they needed at all? These questions will be some of the questions I will discuss in the following section by taking a closer look at developmental organizations, Christian and non-Christian, in operation today. Furthermore, this section will address how these and other organizations reflect the historical dichotomy of West versus non-West ideals in development and if missions still play a role in this separation.

Interview introductions

An integral part of understanding the current trends of missions and development is a familiarity with those who specialize in these fields. Therefore, I have included in my research a closer look at a few organizations who play substantial roles in the fields of missions, international aid, or both. I have chosen three organizations in particular that represent an eclectic range of developmental theory in relation to faith-based missions: a secular humanitarian aid organization, a church, and an a Christian-based economic development organization (not affiliated with a particular Christian denomination). For each organization, I have completed a non-exhaustive survey of publically available periodicals and media clips including a thorough

examination of their respective websites, however the majority of my information will come from consented interviews that I conducted with representatives from each organization. These interviews were conducted with the authorization and under the supervision of the Institutional Review Board. In these interviews I was able to ask each representative directly about their organization's objectives, methods, and results of their work in developing countries. Their answers to these questions will be discussed in contrast to the answers of the other organizations and in light of previously discussed history. Before discussing the results from the interviews, please read the brief introductions of the three organizations below:

CARE International

Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) is an organization that was born in the destructive wake of World War II. In 1945, twenty-two charities combined to form CARE upon recognizing the need for humanitarian aid across Europe. Since its inception CARE has shifted its geographical focus from Europe to the developing world including countries in Southern Africa, South Asia, and South America. Additionally, CARE's practical focus shifted from strict distribution of relief supplies to a long-term approach to reducing poverty. CARE has started programs in the fields of education, natural resources management, nutrition, water and sanitation, and healthcare. Today, CARE takes a "rights based approach" to fighting poverty and its primary focus is in the field of "women's empowerment". As reported on their website, CARE is currently involved in "90 countries around the world, supporting 880 poverty-fighting development and humanitarian aid projects to reach more than 72 million people" (CARE, 2016).

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

In contrast to the strictly non-religious structure of CARE International, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS Church) operates internationally with the primary intention of evangelism. The LDS Church was founded under the leadership of Joseph Smith in the late 1820s. While Smith taught from the Christian bible, he also produced new texts with religious authority including the *Book of Mormon*. Succeeding leaders added more authoritative texts including *Preach My Gospel*, a missionary guide written by LDS church president Gordon B. Hinckley. These texts describe mission work as voluntary (and unessential to Mormon doctrine for obtaining eternal life), but nonetheless a “priestly responsibility” and a “prophet’s call” (“Missionary Handbook”, 2010, p. 55). Furthermore, the LDS church uses passages from the Christian bible to further initiate involvement in missions, and often the Great Commission in Matthew 28:19 is often cited in missionary literature. The emphasis and passion which the LDS church instills in its doctrine regarding missions has resulted in a large percentage of LDS membership to partake in at least one “mission” during their lifetime. A mission, in this context, is a commitment of 18 months to 2 years as an unpaid servant willing to go where the church calls them to go. Currently, the LDS church has missions in 415 locations across the globe with many of these being in developing countries. As a fully functional church, missions is only one of many practices functioning within the LDS Church as an organization (an organized body with an intended purpose), which will provide an interesting comparison to other organizations with narrower objectives.

To skeptical readers I must note that I chose to interview two missionaries of the LDS Church rather than missionaries of another Christian denomination because of the vigor and reputation of

LDS missions. I understand that some teachings of the LDS Church are not consistent with the beliefs of mainstream Christianity and there are those who see Mormonism as disconnected from Christianity altogether. While this study will make no comment on the error or validity of these statements, the answers provided by the LDS missionaries to my questioning should be interpreted as reflective of their experience as a part of the LDS belief system and religious structure not representative of the beliefs of all Christian denominations. However, their comments remain relevant to the topic at hand as legitimate insights into the drive and goals of those who follow the Great Commission and have committed significant time to occupational mission work.

HOPE International

The last organization I decided to interview is an organization unabashedly Christian, yet is not a church. The organization is HOPE International and it a micro-finance institution. HOPE was officially founded in 1997 and has since grown to serve in 16 countries around the world. HOPE assists local populations in four key areas: small loans, savings, training, and discipleship.

HOPE's approach to fighting global poverty is through "empowering entrepreneurs in poverty by providing small loans, a safe place to save, and other financial services to help men and women invest in their businesses and provide for their families" (HOPE 2016). Currently, HOPE has served over 900,000 clients with an average savings of \$35.23 per client. HOPE publicly declares that though the financial services are the means of service, a devotion to Christ and the gospel is the motivation. Their mission statement reads, "At HOPE International, we invest in the dreams of families in the world's underserved communities as we proclaim and live the

Gospel” (HOPE 2016). Christianity, they claim, is central to how they work and why they work, and their commitment to faith is an essential element to their strategy of development.

The purpose of modern-day mission work

As previewed by the introductions, each organization I had the pleasure of interviewing has a unique relationship to religion. Based on this relationship, each organization responded slightly differently when asked about their motivations and objectives in the field of international development. In reference to the dual roles of biblical missions, CARE’s answers closely resembled the ideals of “helping the needy” while the LDS Church fell further on the “preach the gospel” side of the spectrum. HOPE, on the other hand, is an organization that claims to use the two roles as compliments to each other with seemingly equal ambition to use humanitarianism as vehicle for the gospel and the gospel as a motivation for humanitarianism.

I asked if HOPE’s primary objective abroad was religious or material. To this question I received a fascinating answer, “Our primary objective is to end poverty, and the problem of poverty is material and spiritual.” They explained that poverty is much more than a material lack of wealth, but there is a spiritual element involved. The social and personal issues of poverty are wrapped up in an extreme lack of hope for the future. HOPE (thus the name) has recognized poverty as a problem that affects people’s minds and souls as much as their bodies, and HOPE’s solution to this hopelessness is the found in the redemptive promises of Jesus Christ. To a similar question, one of the representatives of the LDS Church referenced a copy of *Preach My Gospel* and quoted, “You are successful [as a missionary] when you are obedient, live righteously, and do your best in helping others live the gospel” (Hinckley, 2004, p. 1-16). After putting down the text

he added, “You are successful when you are loving people like the Savior would.” The answers from these two organizations, both of which claim to be motivated by faith, remarkably inverse the cause and effect relationship of evangelism and development. HOPE insinuates a belief that the gospel of Jesus is a method to alleviating the material needs of the poor. On the contrary, the LDS church operates under the idea that reaching out a hand to the needy is a method of evangelism. When I asked the representatives from the LDS Church if due to external limitations would they choose to evangelize at the expense of serving, they unregrettably sided with the gospel saying “It is more beneficial to teach, not just do service.” I asked HOPE if it saw its purpose as more missions-based (evangelism) or development-based (humanitarian aid). They answered, “Hope at its core is both. HOPE seeks to provide daily bread and the Bread of Life just as Jesus did. Jesus came to heal physically and spiritually, for the short-term and long-term stretching into eternity.” Their passion to emulate the example of Jesus, they said, has led them to value quality, driving them to focus a well-researched model of economic development in the form of micro-finance. Though discipleship remains an important quality of their approach to development, the remainder of their approach resembles a nonbiblical (not to be confused with anti-biblical) methodology of humanitarian aid.

To compare the motivations behind the approach, let us now turn to CARE. “There is something in all of us that wants to make the world a better place. Some people see it as part of who they are, not as a mandate from a particular religion,” CARE’s representative told me when asked if faith was essential to producing the motivation necessary to solve poverty. CARE’s duty to act on behalf of humanity comes not from religious conviction or promise of heavenly reward. Rather, to quote their mission statement, they are motivated by their “unshakeable commitment

to the dignity of people” (CARE 2016). Interestingly, this statement closely resembles the idea expressed by the LDS missionaries that “everybody is a child of God and therefore has intrinsic value and is worthy of help.” “For are we not all beggars?” one missionary quoted from the *Book of Mormon* to highlight the connection they feel with their impoverished brethren and the overwhelming need to act to alleviate their suffering (Mosiah 4:19). CARE, though firmly nonreligious, shares with the passionately religious LDS Church the underlying belief in the unity of humanity. Humanitarian aid, in both cases, showcases a commitment to compassion because it is deserved by rule of human dignity.

Unfortunately, the ideals found in mission statements do not always match the practical application of development. I asked CARE about some of the struggles of working in the field of development and obstacles, internal or external, that have prevented CARE from reaching its goals. The representative cited an example of external conflict with USAID involving Title II Distribution (distribution involving emergency food and relief supplies). According to my conversation with the representative, CARE was involved in the handing out of emergency aid when they were ordered to cease by USAID for reasons of publicity rather than meeting the needs of the crisis at hand. “There is this expectation that other people can come in and fix problems instead of an attitude that we’ll all work together,” the representative said.

Complicating this issue, she mentioned, was that “no philanthropic organization is just doing it out of the goodness of their hearts—they always have an alternate motive, including CARE.” This last comment seemed particularly inspired in relation to the obvious alternate motive of preaching the gospel. As an organization with the expressed motivation of faith, HOPE unashamedly defended their roots. “HOPE would not exist without faith,” their representatives

told me citing Ephesians 3:30 (New International Version) – “Now to him who is able to do immeasurably more than all we ask or imagine, according to his power that is at work in us.” “We would be a quality organization without faith,” they continued, “but it is the Lord and his timing that makes HOPE run.” Implied by this statement, HOPE believes that without the motivation of faith, the material consequences of their work in development would either not exist or be dismissed, though they admitted that quality was not exclusive to faith.

The discussion about motivation holds significance in the discussion of international development because intent has the ability to justify dangerous methods that produce unintended consequences. Recalling the lessons from the Holy Roman Empire, German fascism, and European colonization, we have studied the unfortunate results of unintended consequences arising from the entangling of religious and political motivation. In light of the two purposes of biblical missions, evangelism and humanitarianism, religious motivation has the potential to fuel the processes of international development with passion and vigor which in turn works in favor for spreading the gospel and helping the needy. The religious motivation, in fact, closely mirrors secular motivation behind humanitarian need in degrees of altruism. However, if CARE has truly observed that there is always an alternate motive to altruism, then humanitarian organizations must evaluate whether this alternate motive reflects more selfish intentions, and if those selfish intentions are intertwined with their commitment to faith.

The methods of modern-day mission work

Motivation relates both directly and indirectly with means. In other words, motivation influences how one accomplishes one’s objectives, but not to the exclusion of unintended accomplishments.

The actors in the field of development, including the missionaries, are liable to both the intended and unintended consequences, but their methods can determine the outcomes of both. While interviewing developmental organizations, I asked not only why but how their organizations achieved their expressed purpose.

“One thing that makes CARE unique,” its representative told me, “is that it has a comprehensive understanding of the underlying cause of poverty.” She went on to say that CARE makes a consistent effort to address underlying causes, not simply the problem at face value. The example given was the seemingly simple lack of food. While nutritional aid packages will solve a temporary problem of hunger, they will not fix the underlying cause of poverty. CARE believes that cycle-breaking programs like empowering women will strengthen a family’s ability to earn an income so that they can buy food from a local farmer which will strengthen the nation’s economy which will ideally end nationwide epidemics like hunger. This desire to attack the causes of poverty rather than the results of poverty, the representative told me, is a result of decades of research and involvement in the world’s most impoverished countries. HOPE echoed the importance of these methods by referring to HOPE’s origin, “Jeff Rutt (HOPE’s founder) went to Ukraine and realized that people don’t need ‘stuff’. They need a way to change their circumstances.” Therefore, HOPE was founded on the principles of finding long-term solutions like micro-finance and savings. Upon their mentioning of long-term solutions, I asked if they saw any harm in providing short-term solutions to poverty-stricken areas. They emphasized, “There is risk in harming the community with good intentions.”

Here I will take a pause from discussing interviews to discuss the idea of “harming the community with good intentions.” Bruce Compton (2012), director of international outreach at the Catholic Health Association recalls his own experience, “Hosting visitors is taxing on local employees who were already burdened with long hours and a lack of supplies and equipment. A short-term mission visit offered needed supplies and expertise in medical treatment, but those short bursts of clinical operations were very hard on the community and staff who did not get to go back to America after a couple of taxing weeks. Instead, they got to continue to provide care, but without the aid of their volunteer counterparts.” The dangerous tendency of applying short-term solutions to complex social problems is not limited to missions, but is nonetheless a byproduct of altruistic motivations which as we have seen are often amplified by religious motivation. Economics professor Steve Corbett (2012) wrote a book entitled *When Helping Hurts* in which he elaborates on the potential harm of short-term missions in developing countries. He suggests that the danger of short-term fixes to complex problems is a result of cultural indifference. By not understanding the causes of the problem, humanitarians try to fix the problem how they would fix it in their own culture. To minimize this risk, Corbett writes “It is crucial that North American [short-term mission] teams move beyond ethnocentric thinking that either minimizes these cultural differences or that immediately assumes that middle-to-upper-class North American cultural norms are always superior to those of other cultures.” This current trend, found prominently within the modern Christian mission movement, is reminiscent of the copy-and-paste method of imperialistic colonization that undermined the native populations of South Africa and New Zealand.

I asked the representative of CARE for her professional views on faith-based religious development as seen from the perspective on one familiar with the processes of breaking poverty. She expressed to me cautious reservation. “The trend with mission work has become volunteer tourism—less of what mission work has started out originally,” she told me. While this is not always the case, she has seen an overall trend in missions placing emphasis on meeting immediate-term needs, not long-term needs. When asking the LDS missionaries about their commitment to long-term projects, they answered, “The church does have programs specifically to aid long-term development, but the most useful function of the church is to motivate people to go out and do good.” This answer sharply contrasts the observations of HOPE and CARE who warn that the motivation to do good does not always translate into good being done. The LDS Church explained to me that the church provides help with the material and spiritual needs of these individuals which causes a chain of events based with the transformational power of the gospel. In turn, these newly enlightened individuals transform their families, families transform communities, and communities transform nations. When I asked them about specific tangible results of community transformation, they answered, “You don’t hear about it a lot because the purpose is not to publish it. The motivation to do good comes from our faith, not from publicizing results.”

The curious inability of the LDS representatives to provide me with specific methods or results without referring to their religious motivation lead me to hypothesize that though their motivations were biblically grounded, their methods were not. Developmental methodology has no biblical foundation as clear as the foundation for developmental motivation. For the motivation behind humanitarian aid, one only need cite the famous words of Matthew 7:12 –

“Do unto others what you would have them do unto you.” Yet by applying those same words to methodology, we become drastically aware that simply cannot copy-and-paste what we would do in our own culture to another culture and expect a beneficial result. Consequently, when producing a strategy for international development, one must look outside the teachings of the bible to discover the best practices for humanitarian aid. “As an organization, you need to understand the local context,” HOPE told me, “HOPE has local staff that advise the organization’s leaders on strategies and possible projects that are regionally specific.” When asked, HOPE elaborated on its four key methods to solving poverty: providing loans to function as a bank for entrepreneurs, accumulating external capital for families in the form of savings, training workers in economic theory to provide groundwork for financial sustainability, and disciplining the community in the love and service of Christ. Curiously, though HOPE identifies as a Christian organization, three of its four strategies are completely secular in nature which are adapted to local context by local staff.

Although Christianity has the potential to motivate a great deal of interest in helping the poor in developing countries, it does not provide clear instruction on how to realize those motivations. Actions such as providing material handouts or participating in short-term service trips offer seemingly innocent outlets for the missionary’s call to help the needy, but without understanding the local context, these actions have the potential to cause more harm than aid. To find the answer to how a developmental organization should operate, one must look to the history books, census data, cultural analysis, and economic research to fully evaluate the underlying causes behind the obvious problems. By addressing these causes, which often requires long-term

commitments, faith and non-faith organizations alike can not only positively change developing societies, but also fulfill their own organizational purpose.

Connections to the past

In researching current organizations with operations in developing countries, I paid close attention to the Western ideology that caused many of the unintended consequences of missions in the age of colonialism. Ultimately, one can evaluate purposes and methods of current missionary practices without learning anything of value if one cannot see the unintended consequences of these practices. The only way to glimpse the potential consequences of current activity is to compare it to the activity of the past.

As discussed, the danger of missionary presence is not in the nature of Christianity itself, but rather in a version of Christianity that is presented with a Western worldview. The Western worldview champions individualism, capitalism, and free-will over community; it believes in the power of industry and the value of accumulating personal wealth. From this worldview, it is easy to look at a non-West culture as inferior because of their lack of these Western ideals. In brutal fashion, history has shown the tendency of the West to force these ideals on the non-West by processes that were started primarily by Christian missionaries. The idea that the West would sweep away the problems of the non-West failed to ask the question if those problems actually exist. This is an exercise in top-down power movement that is reminiscent of the Crusades, conquistadors, and German fascism. Joerge Rieger (2010) writes, “The dominant forms of globalization tend to move from the top down, resulting in concentrations of power in the hands of fewer and fewer people, and large sectors of theology have been quick to follow suit, mostly

without being aware of how their approaches imitate top-down moves of dominant globalization” (p. 3). More so, this top-down power movement is contrary to the religious intentions of Christian missionaries. Joerg Rieger (2010) poses the question, “is God the one who acts from the top down and who backs up the processes of [development] from the top down, as the Christian Roman Empire, and all subsequent Christian empires to this day, believe? Or is God the one we meet in Jesus Christ, who was born in a manger in a stable rather than in a cradle in a palace, who was a day laborer in construction, and who tended to side with the sick, the outcasts, and the sinners, rather than with the established and the powerful?” (p. 23)

The organizations I interviewed clearly expressed to me their desire for societal healing. However by the very expression of their opinions to me, they proved that they have a worldview about how development “should” be carried out. This worldview is embedded in their methodology as was Marsden’s worldview imbedded in his method of evangelizing in New Zealand. Marsden’s example teaches that preconceived worldviews allow for the possibility of unforeseen results, results that may run counter-productive to the original objective. The Comaroffs speak of evangelical capitalism in South Africa embedded in the evangelical Christianity preached by the missionaries in the 1800s. Today, organizations like HOPE International promote capitalistic enterprise in the forms of investment and savings. Such organizations must closely consider history to avoid the letting a preconceived worldview cloud an appreciation for local values. Like the missionaries of the past, development workers of the present may be tested by the temptation to “civilize” their subjects. Missionaries and secular humanitarians alike take more than aid with them to developing countries. They may not take the same worldview of the West as the colonialists did, but if they approach international

development as saviors and not collaborators, then history shows us that the top-down influence will undoubtedly produce unintentional consequences that will bode ill for the developing society.

Conclusions based on current trends

Through the interviews I conducted with CARE International, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and HOPE International represent a minimal sample of the organizations that operate daily in developing countries. While many more conclusions could be drawn from a more complete sample size, these few organizations represent an assortment of purposes and methods in regard to the role of faith in their approach to development. Therefore the connections made between these organizations, as well as connections made between past and present, allow us to conclude some facts about the role of faith in development and the potential of faith to influence development for better or for worse.

Current trends in modern missions continue to reflect the dual purposes of missions, evangelism and humanitarianism, however humanitarianism specifically is now valued more by the world at large outside the believers in Christianity. Religiously motivated and secularly motivated organizations alike strive to end humanitarian crises like global poverty because of a belief in unified human dignity. To achieve these goals, the LDS Church approaches international development evangelistically while CARE and HOPE take on a more secular approach. The secular approaches, based on my conversations with each organization, appear to be the most effective in establishing long-term solutions to the crises that these organizations wish to combat. Comparing these conversations to what I have learned from historical review and case studies, I

have discovered a dangerous pattern of top-down power movement between a West and non-West set of cultural standards. History shows us that this power movement causes unintentional consequences contrary to the desires of developmental organizations and harmful to the developing societies. To minimize these negative consequences, it is essential for the organization's worldview to be flexible and adaptable collaboration with the developing society.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The teachings of Jesus, as recorded in the New Testament, command his followers among other things to preach the gospel and care for the needy. As Christians spread from Israel to Rome and through the Roman Empire, these messages of Christ were carried and practiced throughout Europe eventually making Christianity the dominant religion of Western culture. The resilience of Christianity bears testament to its power to motivate individuals to action. Despite several periods of darkness due to persecution, political invasion, and plague, Christianity followed each setback with a glorious flourishing of biblical ideals. The motivational power of Christianity was quickly recognized by the political elites who fused religion and politics together in the creation of the Holy Roman Empire. This fusion caused many politically motivated acts to be accomplished in the name of Christianity that had no biblical moral basis. As a rule, the more intertwined the worlds of politics and Christianity were, the more atrocities were committed in the name of Christ. Only by returning to biblical principles would these negative unintended consequences be relieved.

The age of colonialism saw the fusion of Christianity not with overt politics but with something far more subtle: a worldview. The worldview of the West, resulting from the previous centuries of European history, traveled with European missionaries to locations like New Zealand and South Africa. The indigenous populations of these places quickly became overwhelmed by this worldview and put up little defense when its manifestation arrived in the form of imperial colonialism. The missionaries in this era were not imperialists, but due to the interwoven nature

of their message with their Western worldview, they neglected to learn and appreciate the fundamental values of the native cultures. They viewed their own methods as the “civilized way” which undermined and eventually destroyed the “uncivilized” practices of the natives. When the more oppressive rulers followed the missionaries to New Zealand and South Africa, the non-West worldviews were already so weak that they offered little resistance.

The unintended consequences of the influence of Western culture on colonial missions reflects in many ways the influence of developmental trends on current missions. Although the nature of Christian missions has changed within the context of development, the same top-down power movement that dominated the age of colonialism remains a threat to faith-based and secular organizations alike. Based past analysis, the problem with missions in development has nothing to do with the messages taught by the bible. On the contrary, when these messages are isolated they work in favor of promoting positive societal change. However when these biblical messages are interwoven into a foreign worldview, an unintentional message is shared that is not found in the bible. Just as the missionaries of the Roman Empire experienced a renaissance upon removing politics from religion, so will development experience positive growth if this Western worldview is removed from missionary work.

Christian missions undoubtedly has current relevance in the context of international development. While one cannot reduce all indicators of development to the variable of religion without being guilty of extreme reductionism, one can see that Christianity has historically had positive and negative influence on the humanitarian needs of the world. Moving forward, missionary ideals can and should be used to motivate action, but secular models of research and

theory should be used when putting that action to practice. Primarily, missionaries should be cautious of exalting their own worldview above the worldview of developing countries or else their endeavor to save souls may have the potential to costing lives.

REFERENCES

- AidData. (2015). <http://aiddata.org/dashboard#/aggregate/analytic-dashboard>, 2016
- Anon. (1845). "New Zealand: The Aborigines and Their Language," *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Colonial Maritime Journal* 2 (January-April 1843): 455-57; E. Wakefield, "The NewZealand Language," *Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Colonial Maritime Journal* 2 new series (1845): 281
- Ballantyne, T. (2014). *Entanglements of empire : missionaries, Māori, and the question of the body*. Tony Ballantyne. Durham, North Carolina : Duke University Press, 2014.
- Beidelman, T. O. (1974). Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, (3). 235.
- CARE International. (2016). <http://www.care-international.org/about-us/core-values>, 2016
- Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1986). Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa. *American Ethnologist*, (1). 1.
- Crossway Bibles. (2007). ESV: Study Bible : English standard version. Wheaton, Ill: Crossway Bibles.
- Dawson, C. (1950). *Religion and the rise of western culture*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1950.
- Dawson, C. (1929). *Progress & religion: An historical enquiry*. London : Sheed and Ward.
- Denning, G. (2003). The Comaroffs out of Africa: A reflection out of Oceania. *American Historical Review*, 108(2), 471-478.
- Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. (2014). *World economic situation and prospects 2014*. United Nations.
http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp_current/2014wesp_country_classification.pdf, 2016
- Ellis M.H. (1947). *Lachlan Macquarie : His Lfie, Adventures and Times*. Sidney: Dymock, 1947.
- Etherington, N. (1977). Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa: A South African Case Study. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, (1). 31.
- Hinckley. (2004). "Preach my gospel": D & C 50:14. Salt Lake City, UT: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
- HOPE International (2016). <https://www.hopeinternational.org/what-we-do>, 2016

- Kendall to Marsden. (1821). 27 September 1821, TKL, HC.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. (1964). *A history of Christianity*. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode
- Marsden S. to Reverend Pratt J., 7 April 1808, Records Relating to the New Zealand Mission. General inwards letters, March 1808-November 1812, MS-0498/001/003, HC.
- Metaxas, E. (2010). *Bonhoeffer : pastor, martyr, prophet, spy : a righteous gentile vs. the Third Reich*. Eric Metaxas. Nashville : Thomas Nelson, [2010].
- Missionary Handbook (2010). <https://www.lds.org/manual/missionary-handbook/missionary-leadership?lang=eng>, 2010
- Noll, M. (1997). *Turning Points, Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1997.
- Platt, D. (2010). *Radical : Taking back your faith from the American Dream*. 1st ed. David Platt. Colorado Springs, Colo. : Multnomah Books, 2010.
- Rieger, J. (2010). *Globalization and theology*. Joerg Rieger. Nashville : Abingdon Press, 2010.
- Schapera, I. (1971). *Rainmaking rites of Tswana tribes*. [By] I. Schapera. Leiden : Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1971.
- Sinclair, The Orgins of Māori Wars, 13; Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (1988), 42.
- The Pew Forum. (2012). *The Global Religious Landscape*. Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec/#>, 2016.
- Walker, R. (1990). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End*. Auckland: Penguin, 1990.
- Williams, H. (1961). *The Early Journals of Henry Williams: Senior Missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society 1826-40*. Edited by Lawrence M. Rogers. Christchurch: Pegasus, 1961.
- Winter, R. and Hawthorne, S. eds. (1999) *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*. Third Edition. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1999.